Workers of the World, Unite !

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Third of Nation Still Ill-Housed, Ill-Clad, Ill-Fed

By Joseph Keller

One-third of the nation is still "ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished" — 12 years after Roosevelt coined this famous description. This remains the outstanding fact of American life under capitalism, despite New Deals, War Deals and Fair Deals.

Last year, when production and employment were the highest in U. S. peacetime history, some sixteen million family units received a cash income of under $2,000, less than $40 a week. Eight million of these family units were forced to subsist on less than $1,000, below $20 a week.

Another nine million families scraped by on less than $3,000 a year, while some 13½ million others received from $3,000 to $5,000. These latter incomes, however, have a purchasing power of between $1,500 and $2,500 in 1939 dollars.

These are the sober, conservative findings issued on Nov. 12 in Washington by the Subcommittee on Low-Income Families of the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report, headed by Senator Sparkman of Alabama.

We can better appreciate what these income levels mean when we compare them to the minimum living standards budgets established by the government. The U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics says the minimum decency and health income for the average family today is between $3,200 and $3,500 a year. Back in March 1946 before the biggest leap in post-war prices, the Senate Education and Labor Committee reported: "Even the inadequate maintenance budget developed for families on work relief would cost $1,700 at current prices."

Today in this richest country on earth, one out of every three people lives in conditions ranging from bare subsistence to outright starvation. Another third struggles to stay within the borderland of minimum maintenance. And even those who manage to get between $4,000 and $5,000 a year — at double the 1939 cost of living — live under a cloud of insecurity.

THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

Remember, this is not in an undeveloped, backward country, or one blasted and ruined by war. This is in the country that boasts of doubling production of goods in a single decade since 1939 and that has trebled the national income in a brief span of 15 years. But this is also a country where bankers, industrialists and landlords rule; where the capitalist government siphons off a quarter of the national income to feed the war machine; where competitive greed and the profits of a few rob the substance of the many.

The tiny, parasitic minority who thrive under the profit system, keep yelping, "Look at Russia, look at China, look at England!" — look everywhere but at the misery and poverty at home. No, we say, look at America, look at a land where we have all the means at hand for universal plenty and security, but where the more we produce, the greater grows the gulf between rich and poor.

We can achieve the plenty and security for all that this country right now is able to produce — but only under one condition: This country must belong to the people, really belong to them. The factories, mines, railroads, natural resources — all the basic means of producing and distributing the necessities of life — must belong to the non-profit society of the workers and producers.

Those who live by their labor — the 80% of the population who now live in the shadow of insecurity — must control the economy. They must plan and operate production and distribution cooperatively, under their own democratic rule through a Workers and Farmers Government.

In short, socialism — and socialism alone — will end forever this brutal profit system that condemns one-third of the nation to hovels, rags and hunger.

CIO GAINS BIG LOCALS IN UE WAR

The civil war between the Stalinist-controlled United Electrical Workers, expelled from the CIO at its recent convention, and the newly-chartered CIO International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, led by CIO Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey and the ACTU faction, is raging in full fury.

Both factions are resorting to strong-arm methods in attempting to silence their opponents, grabbing local treasuries and properties where they can and running to the courts for injunctions and restraining orders against each other.

CIO officials claimed that locals representing some 130,000 members including the huge Westinghouse Local 601 in Pittsburgh, GM Frigidaire local in Dayton and two large Philco locals in Philadelphia, had voted to remain in CIO during the first week of the split. The UE leaders claimed 600,000 members before the split, but UE representation at the CIO convention was based on only about 350,000 members.

While the old UE holds the powerful weapon of contracts with Westinghouse, General Electric and other large manufacturers, the new CIO union undoubtedly will have the greatest attraction for the workers in the long run, because the CIO remains the mainstream of industrial unionism.

Last week, it was reported that the 17,000-member Local 201 in Lynn, Mass., voted to stay in CIO, as well as the 8,000-member Local 1581 in Buffalo, N. Y. The Stalinists are putting out a flood of counter-claims and have instituted a string of court actions to block the seizure of funds and properties by seceding locals. In Schenectady, N. Y., however, the CIO group secured a temporary injunction to prevent "transfers or concealment of union funds" by the old UE group.

The IUE-CIO officials last week filed a petition with the NLRB in Washington requesting elections in all plants of General Electric, Westinghouse, General Motors and five other large companies to determine the collective bargaining agency.

In a court action in Philadelphia last week, a federal judge ruled that the IUE-CIO could use its full name or the initials IUE, but not "UE."

The Stalinist UE leaders, in addition to trying to keep their forces in line with the contracts they hold, have been assailing the CIO leaders for the miserable settlements made in steel and auto. Carey and other CIO spokesmen have been making effective use of the Stalinists' notorious record of wartime strikebreaking and their "tagalong" policy in post-war wage fights.

Miners Face Gang-Up By Government, Owners

All Labor Must Now Declare: 'Hands Off the Coal Miners!'

By Art Preis

The coal miners are fighting with their backs to the wall against a gang-up by the government and coal operators. The Big Business press is howling louder than ever for the head of John L. Lewis.

For 52 days the soft coal miners stayed out of the pits in a demonstration of magnificent solidarity and militancy that is their trade-mark. No one can doubt they will resume the fight with the same unity and determination should the United Mine Workers leaders be forced to call them out again at the end of the three-week truce on Dec. 1.

This strike-truce, announced on Nov. 9 by the UMW Policy Committee, gives the miners a breathing spell — but no more. They will get a few weeks' pay to bolster them a bit for the next stage of the struggle. But we must face the fact that the miners, their resources badly depleted, are in a precarious position. We must sound the alarm for all-out labor support to the embattled coal-diggers.

"HATE-LEWIS" MOB

With the steel strike out of the way, the Truman administration and coal operators have openly combined to concentrate a full-scale ferocious assault against the mine workers. The "Hate Lewis" mob — a coalition of all the anti-labor scum in the country — have scented blood and are closing in for what they hope will be the kill. They are out to destroy Lewis and the UMW as the symbol of an aggressive unionism that has won for the miners the highest industrial wages in the country and the largest pensions and welfare benefits.

No longer are the coal operators — the front for the steel corporations which control the major mines — making a pretense of seeking a negotiated settlement. They are deliberately ignoring the offers of the UMW leaders for further meetings. They confidently expect the government to spearhead the attack on the miners and crush them in defeat.

Truman is giving the parasitic operators every assurance that their profits and privileges will be safeguarded with the full power of the government. The White House has issued a virtual ultimatum to the miners to remain on their jobs after Dec. 1 or face the kind of government strikebreaking that Truman has twice before used against them.

This time Truman has a method of intervention that he hopes will enable him to get the effect of the Taft-Hartley Act without formally invoking the act itself. He has the weapon of the "fact-finding" procedure which he used to stall off the steel strike for 2½ months and to whittle the steel workers' demands down to a mere splinter.

TRUMANS' TACTICS

As this is written, it is reported that Truman has already secretly hand-picked a "fact-finding" board and is going to demand that the miners submit to its "inquiry" and "findings." Should they refuse to place their interests in the hands of this agency of the capitalist government and mine owners, Truman will use this as a pretext to crack down with the Taft-Hartley Act or his "inherent power" to break "national emergency" strikes.

All organized labor owes a great debt of gratitude to the miners, who have been in the vanguard of labor's struggle, pioneering every great gain, such as pension and welfare funds, in the past years. The steel workers were tremendously bolstered by the mine strike.

Don't let the miners down! Now is the time for CIO President Philip Murray to speak out against Truman's strikebreaking plans! Let all labor leaders and labor organizations declare in no uncertain terms to Washington: "Hands off the coal miners!"

Workers Block Big Steel Union-Crippling Drive

The solidarity, union loyalty and self-sacrifice of the steel workers has blocked the third post-war drive of the steel monopolists to weaken or cripple the CIO United Steel Workers. U. S. Steel Corporation agreed to a settlement on Nov. 11, the 42nd day of the general basic steel strike, which began Oct. 1 and at its peak involved close to 600,000 workers.

U. S. Steel, which employs a third of the workers in the basic steel industry, accepted terms similar to the pension settlements previously concluded with Bethlehem Steel and other Little Steel corporations. These terms follow the pattern of the recommendations of Truman's "Fact-Finding" Board. The steel barons had forced the strike when they refused to accept these recommendations.

But the union did not gain the immediate objective which Philip Murray had proclaimed at the start of the strike — pensions and social insurance paid for entirely by the companies. Before and during the strike he had said there would be "no retreat" on the principle of non-contributory pensions and welfare.

The steel pensions, which are being misrepresented by Murray and the capitalist press as "non-contributory," are paid for in part by the workers through their taxes on social security. The plan calls for a minimum pension, at age 65 after 25 years service, of $100 a month — including federal social security. It is not a $100 a month pension paid for by the company.

A "COMPROMISE"

This fact was emphasized, after the conclusion of the settlement, by U. S. Steel President Benjamin Fairless. He issued a statement saying in part: "It [the new contract] represents a compromise of the principal issue in dispute, namely, whether or not the employer shall pay the entire cost of insurance and pensions for employees. . .

"The pension to be paid by United States Steel shall be reduced by the amount of any pension or annuity which such retired employee is entitled to receive under the Federal Social Security Act or other similar legislation. The Federal Social Security Act requires equal contributions by employers and employees. TO THAT EXTENT PENSIONS UNDER THIS SETTLEMENT ARE UPON A CONTRIBUTORY BASIS." (Our emphasis.)

MURRAY IN JULY

Moreover, the health insurance program is openly on a contributory basis, with the worker and company each paying 2½ cents an hour into the fund. This will mean a reduction in take-home pay of about $1 a week.

Here is what Murray himself said about such a contributory insurance program on July 12, 1949, in his report to the steel union's wage policy committee: "The proposal made by the United States Steel Corporation . . . contemplates that the Corporation will contribute an additional picayune sum of 2c. per hour for social insurance benefits, but only upon the condition that the employees contribute a like amount. This is a shocking proposal. . . The net effect of the Corporation's proposal is a wage cut to the employees of 2c. per hour, since this amount would be deducted from the pay of the employees." The deduction Murray has agreed to is 2½ cents.

The union leaders agreed to (Continued on page 2)

Clark Refuses to Disqualify Himself In Dennis Case

The U. S. Supreme Court last week ripped off its mask of judicial "impartiality" when Justice Tom Clark, former Attorney General, refused to disqualify himself in the court's hearing of an appeal by Communist Party leader Eugene Dennis against a conviction for contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Clark flouted the avowed traditions of judicial procedure when he insisted on sitting as a judge in a case where his bias against the appellant has been publicly proclaimed. Dennis was one of the 11 Stalinists convicted of "conspiracy to advocate" the overthrow of the government in the Foley Square trial — a prosecution initiated by Tom Clark when he headed the Department of Justice.

The Department of Justice, in a statement last June 30 listing Clark's "achievements" as Attorney General, boasted of his contributions to "internal security," among them the contempt conviction of Dennis.

Not only did Clark as Attorney General boast of his part in securing the conviction on which he now is sitting as an appeal judge, but he instituted the "subversive" list and the "loyalty" purge investigations that helped create the witch-hunt atmosphere surrounding the contempt prosecution and conviction.

It was pointed out by Dennis' attorney that the jury which brought in the conviction was composed in part of government employees, who were under pressure of the "loyalty" probe and would fear to bring in a verdict that might arouse the resentment of Clark and the other "loyalty" purgers.

Clark is establishing a precedent whereby he will be able to judge his own violations of civil rights in numerous cases when he was Attorney General. He may well have the decisive vote in putting the supreme judicial seal on abrogations of the Bill of Rights.

V. R. DUNNE IN NATIONAL TOUR ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Vincent R. Dunne's national lecture tour on Labor and Civil Rights will begin in Seattle on Nov. 29 and will cover all of the main Socialist Workers Party centers in the following two months.

V. R. DUNNE

Comrade Dunne's lectures will deal with the cold war and the witch-hunt; the Smith Act and the conviction of the 11 leaders of the Communist Party; the Minneapolis trial of 1941, precedent for the New York trial of 1949; the witch-hunt in the unions; what happened to promises for civil rights for Negroes; the enemies and defenders of democracy and civil rights.

In addition to his lecture under SWP auspices, Dunne will be prepared to address other organizations concerned with the civil rights struggle and to appear on radio programs in the larger cities where his schedule will permit it. He will also be available for conferences with party members and sympathizers on their local problems.

Vincent R. Dunne first became nationally famous in 1934 for his leadership of the teamsters' strikes that launched the drive which made Minneapolis a union town. He won the admiration of union militants throughout the country for his prominent role in the great struggle for union democracy in the Teamsters, and the support of all defenders of civil liberties as the central figure in the first trial under the Smith Act.

The Minneapolis trial, which is known in the law records as "the Dunne case," was repeatedly cited as a precedent by the prosecutor in the New York trial of the 11 Stalinist leaders.

The interest that will undoubtedly be shown in Comrade Dunne's appearances should make it one of the most successful tours in SWP history.

The schedule for his tour is printed on Page 3 of this issue.

NEW YORK CITY MEETING TO GREET LEGLESS VET

NEW YORK, Nov. 17 — James Kutcher, the legless veteran who was purged from his VA job because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party, will be welcomed home from his coast-to-coast speaking tour at a public meeting Dec. 15, 8 P.M., at the Capitol Hotel, 51st St. and Eighth Ave.

The meeting, sponsored by the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, will also mark the 158th anniversary of the Bill of Rights. Kutcher will tell the story of his fight to retain his government job, which has become the key case arising from the "loyalty" purge.

Other prominent speakers will include:

I. F. Stone, noted author and columnist.

Roger Baldwin, director, American Civil Liberties Union.

Carl Holderman, president, New Jersey State CIO Council.

Professor Thomas I. Emerson, dean of Yale University Law School and authority on the "loyalty" program.

Benjamin F. McLaurin, international organizer, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, and national committee member of Americans for Democratic Action.

Norman Thomas, Socialist Party leader.

George Novack, national secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, will chair the meeting.

Louis Adamic On Yugoslavia

After a six months' stay in Yugoslavia, the American writer gives his views on the Tito-Stalin conflict. See pg. 3.

SIU Red-Baiting Masks 'Cannibal' Unionism

By R. Bell

Leading officials of the AFL Seafarers International Union and Sailors Union of the Pacific have laid down a heavy barrage against "Trotskyist disrupters" to screen their own disruptive activities on the waterfront. These activities are a matter of record. They have made the top officials of the SIU-SUP hated in other maritime unions and have led to a creeping destruction of the democratic rights of their members.

The CIO National Maritime Union (NMU), International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), Marine Engineers Beneficial Association (MEBA), Marine Cooks & Stewards (MCS) and the independent Pacific Coast Marine Firemen's Union (MFOW) are all classified by the SIU-SUP leadership as "dual and hostile." Under this classification all these unions have been subjected to SIU-SUP raiding and strikebreaking. **Because the Trotskyists have condemned the cannibal unionism of the SIU-SUP officialdom the Socialist Workers Party has also been dubbed "dual and hostile!"**

One form of cannibal unionism has been practiced under the "CSU formula." In our article in **The Militant** last week we told how the SIU-SUP broke the Canadian Seamens Union strike by signing a sweetheart agreement after the CSU had struck the ships.

SCAB AGREEMENTS

More recently, the CSU formula was employed against the Marine Engineers. When the MEBA struck the S.S. Sir John Franklin of the Isbrandtsen Steamship Company last month for an improved agreement, Paul Hall, Secretary-Treasurer of the SIU, sent replacements aboard from his newly formed Brotherhood of Marine Engineers. A few days later the Isbrandtsen Company announced it had signed an agreement with the BME on terms previously rejected by the MEBA.

The only ship to "run the blockade" in the recent Hawaiian Longshoremen's strike was the Isthmian Company ship, Steel Flyer, under contract to the SIU. Men who refused to scab were expelled from the union.

The policy of cannibal unionism provides many variations. On the Pacific Coast, for example, the Lundeberg-sponsored Pacific Marine Stewards Union, organized to raid the jurisdiction of the Marine Cooks and Stewards, has recently challenged the "legality" of the MS&S union hiring hall. The Seattle **Post-Intelligencer,** Oct. 23, reports that the PMS has filed charges "based on the 'right to work' clause of the Taft-Hartley Act."

THEY USE T-H ACT

It is under the so-called "right-to-work" clause that the lower courts have ruled that the union hiring hall for seamen is illegal under the Taft-Hartley Law. In a test case, this decision of the lower courts has been appealed to the United States Supreme Court by the National Maritime Union. The Supreme Court decision is expected some time around the first of the year.

For a seafaring union to invoke this union-busting clause to raid another union can only give aid and encouragement to the shipowner-government assault on the hiring hall. Thus, cannibal unionism in the maritime industry serves to weaken and undermine the basic foundation of all seafaring unions!

One of the major "crimes" of which the Trotskyists are accused in a six page diatribe in the Nov. 4 **Seafarers Log,** is opposition to SIU-SUP strikebreaking in the long drawn and bitterly fought Oil Workers strike on the Pacific Coast last year. Without going into detail, the authors of the article flay "Mahoney and his Trotskyite disrupters" for going "on record" in a Seattle membership meeting "to non-concur with the membership's decision to man the vessels of the Union Oil Company."

LUNDEBERG'S REWARD

The reluctance of the authors of the anti-Trotskyist tirade to supply details is understandable in view of what they have to conceal. However, we are under no such restraint. To win their strike the oil workers had to stop the movement of oil by railroad, ship and truck. The vessels of the Union Oil company were under contract to the National Maritime Union.

When NMU crew members walked off ship in support of the strike, Harry Lundeberg, President of the SIU and Secretary-Treasurer of the SUP, ran finks

(Continued on page 4)

40% of Fund Collected At the Half-Way Mark

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

The Socialist Workers Party campaign to raise a $12,000 Party Building Fund reached the half-way mark this week. Party members and friends have sent in a total of $4,769 through Nov. 15 — 40% of the national quota — still 10% behind schedule.

In line with the campaign slogan — IN FULL AND ON TIME — the branches are striving to be on schedule every week. Branches that started collecting funds with the opening gun and regularized their weekly pledge payments are either on schedule or ahead.

Flint Branch, for instance, has held first place in the campaign since the beginning. They have now reached 82% of their $200 quota. "Whoopee!" shouts **Comrade Genora** for all the Flint comrades, "Our goal is nearly reached!"

New Britain holds second place with 70% of its quota.

St. Paul-Minneapolis still holds third place with 59%. But third place is now challenged by New York and Toledo, both branches having reached 57% of their quotas during the week.

Comrade Cathy, Fund Director for **New York Local,** reports that "of the $1,723 paid, quite a few dollars have been contributed by friends of the SWP."

San Francisco-Oakland jumped from fifteenth to sixth place, with 54% of its quota. "Considering that we have reached the half-way mark in our payments in one-third the time set," writes **Anne Chester,** "the San Francisco-Oakland area is doing much better than anticipated. If we continue in this manner, we should go way over the top. We are planning a banquet and dance in a combined celebration of October 1917 and **The Militant** anniversary. This should net a fair amount which will go toward our Party Building Fund quota."

Buffalo Branch grabbed seventh place by sending in $41 special delivery.

To complete the on-schedule roster: **New Haven, Allentown,** and **Seattle** have reached 50% at the half-way mark.

Philadelphia Branch doubled its percentage to 38% with a payment of $115 during the week.

M. Baker writes for **Detroit Branch:** "We couldn't make the halfway mark on schedule, but we will be able to send in substantial amounts in the next two or three weeks. At any rate, our full quota will be in by the Dec. 31 deadline."

Morgantown Branch leaped from zero to 40% of its quota; **Akron Branch** squeezed from zero to 10%, leaving only one branch in the zero category.

W. E. B. of Portland, Oregon, contributed $5 toward the fund. Thanks a lot.

A friend who wishes to remain anonymous contributed $20.

A circular appeal has gone out to all the subscribers of **The Militant and Fourth International,** and we expect the "General" quota to begin a climb next week.

Next week's scoreboard should show every quota fulfilled by 62%. It'll be a cinch for some branches; other branches will have to speed up their pledge payments. Being on schedule now will forestall that wild scramble at the deadline.

SCOREBOARD FOR SWP FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Flint	$ 200	$ 163	82
New Britain	30	21	70
St. Paul-Minneapolis	900	527	59
New York	3,000	1,723	57
Toledo	75	43	57
San Francisco-Oakland	800	428	54
Buffalo	500	258	52
New Haven	25	13	52
Allentown	50	25	50
Seattle	200	100	50
Worcester	40	19	48
Newark	350	146	42
Boston	200	82	41
Morgantown	25	10	40
Philadelphia	600	230	38
Cleveland	250	89	36
St. Louis	75	27	36
Detroit	1,100	382	35
Pittsburgh	150	50	33
Los Angeles	1,500	275	18
Youngstown	400	56	14
Lynn	75	10	13
Chicago	400	45	11
Akron	100	10	10
Milwaukee	250	0	0
General	705	37	5
TOTAL through Nov. 15	$12,000	$4,769	40%

Steel Strike Settled

United Steelworkers members hail the end of their six-week strike at Republic Steel plant in Chicago. The settlement represents a "compromise" of union's demand for non-contributory welfare concessions.

ACEWR TO RUN BAZAAR DEC. 9-10 IN NEW YORK

The New York Chapter of the American Committee for European Workers Relief announces that its Fourth Annual Xmas Bazaar will be held on Dec. 9 and 10.

As those who have attended previous bazaars of the ACEWR know, the Xmas Bazaar is the ideal place for workers to do their Xmas shopping. Not only will there be an abundance of merchandise at bargain prices, but the closing attraction will be a grand auction of all unsold articles. Here is the chance to save money on your shopping and at the same time help needy working class families abroad.

Many people, the ACEWR states, have the mistaken belief that the need for relief to Europe no longer exists. This is especially untrue in the cases of those aided by the ACEWR. Many of these are ex-concentration camp prisoners whose health was so ruined by imprisonment and torture that they need special foods and medicines. Others are aged parents, widows and orphans of men who were killed by the Nazis. These people cannot be forgotten now. They need the helping hand of international solidarity.

The ACEWR sends relief packages to Holland, Belgium, France (including Spanish exiles there), Italy, Austria, Greece and all four zones of Germany.

An example of the type of people assisted by the ACEWR is the W. family in Germany. The son has recently been released from a convalescent home for former concentration camp prisoners. The mother writes: "As a functionary of the Social Democratic Party I was arrested when the Nazis marched into Czechoslovakia. My husband who was persecuted during the entire regime of Nazis, died when the war was at an end. I am now 68 years old, sick, and have only a 40 German Mark monthly income. . . I ask you to lighten my need by sending me a food package. . ."

To continue its necessary work, the ACEWR depends on such affairs as its annual Xmas Bazaar.

HOW TO HELP

All those who believe in international solidarity have two duties. First, to help the ACEWR collect merchandise, and second, to come to the bazaar, bringing friends and relatives if possible.

Those who have friends or relatives who have businesses are urged to ask them for donations of merchandise. All are asked to give some personal possessions to the bazaar. Anyone wishing to aid in the solicitation of merchandise should visit or telephone the ACEWR office at 130 West 23rd St., New York City, CHelsea 2-5884.

The coming bazaar promises to be the same bargain-hunter's paradise that it has been in the previous years. In addition to art objects and curios from all over the world, there will be fine color prints, jewelry, phonograph records, men's, women's and children's clothing, toys, books, household articles and a hundred other items.

The bazaar will be held at the ACEWR headquarters, 130 West 23rd St. It begins at 6 P.M., Friday, Dec. 9. On Saturday the doors will open at noon. The auction will take place Saturday night. Admission free.

Nov. FI Features Analysis Of Yugoslav Developments

In what direction is the Yugoslav Communist Party headed — toward Wall Street's reactionary camp or toward revolutionary socialism?

This timely and important question is considered from the Marxist point of view by Michel Pablo in the November issue of **Fourth International,** monthly magazine of American Trotskyism. World Stalinism, he declares, faces the most acute crisis in its evolution since the monstrous purges of 1936-38. The dissidence of the Yugoslavs has encouraged resistance to the terrorist regime of the Kremlin throughout the satellite countries and far beyond.

"It is not an exaggeration to anticipate," declares Pablo, "if the Yugoslav affair evolves favorably, if the Tito regime does not compromise with imperialism but on the contrary develops a more consistent revolutionary line, that we may yet witness the debacle of Stalinism in the years to come on a vast scale."

Citing recent developments in Yugoslavia such as further collectivization of agriculture, the reform of the law on Peoples' Committees and the emergence of deepening ideological differences with Stalinism, Pablo concludes that the Yugoslav Communist Party is developing as "a left centrist tendency."

Its further evolution in a favorable direction, he holds, is favored by the split with the Comintern, but also depends "on the active assistance of the international proletariat."

Another timely article in the November issue of Fourth International is Irvin Marnin's "The UE Faces the Split," a discussion of the plight of the membership of the United Electrical Workers caught between the Carey group and the bureaucratic Stalinist leadership.

The second installment of V. Grey's study of the steel industry, "Steel: Achilles of U. S. Industry," is as colorful and educational as the first part which appeared in the October issue. Grey shows how technological improvements sharpen the struggle of the monopolistic giants and undermine their general agreement to limit capacity.

In "Some Comments on the Falling Rate of Profit," the well-known Marxist writer Arne Swabeck discusses a point raised by V. Grey in his first article. Students of Marxism will find Swabeck's comments most illuminating.

"Stalinism and Negro History" is an informative analysis of some recent productions of Stalinist writers. J. Meyer, a Marxist authority on problems of the Negro people, contrasts the Stalinist interpretation with the true story of the progressive role of the Negro people in American history.

A review by B. Lens of Lincoln Barnett's book, **The Universe and Dr. Einstein,** hits hard at the professional mystifiers who claim they are "popularizing" science.

The issue is rounded out with a reprint of a rare article by Leon Trotsky, "Problem of the Ukraine," which is particularly timely in the light of the events in Yugoslavia. This is the article in which Trotsky raised the slogan against the Kremlin, "For a free, independent Soviet Ukraine!"

A copy of this issue can be obtained by sending 25c. to **Fourth Internatoinal,** 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

COOK COUNTY BOARD REBUFFS LANDLORDS ON RENT GOUGE

CHICAGO, Nov. 10 — For the second time in five months the Cook County Rent Advisory Board today voted against a general rent increase. By a vote of 8 to 6, the board in a special meeting reaffirmed the stand it had taken on June 28 when, after extended public hearings, it decided to recommend against a general rent increase in Cook County.

Today the board adopted the following findings: (1) that the landlords had failed to prove that they were entitled to a general rent increase; (2) that the landlords had not proved that a rent increase was necessary to remove hardships or inequities, but that on the contrary a general increase would perpetuate existing inequities; and (3) that individual hardship cases could be handled by individual landlord petitions for increases.

When the Cook County Fair Rent Committee, the organization of landlords which has been spearheading the fight for a 45% general rent increase for more than a year, appealed the earlier decision of the board to the Emergency Court of Appeals, that body on Nov. 1 crassly disapproved the board's recommendation. Not having the power to order a rent increase itself or to substitute its judgment for the local board's, the court could only find a technical flaw in the board's recommendation — that it was not supported by proper findings of fact.

The landlords with the help of the newspapers at once released a propaganda barrage to the effect that the board now had to grant a substantial rent increase. This was designed to stampede the board. However at the special meeting called to consider the court's action, M. J. Myer, a tenant representative on the board, pointed out the falseness of this propaganda and showed that the board could adopt specific findings of fact to support and reaffirm its original action.

The landlord representatives, with the help of the chairman, tried to refer the whole matter to a special committee which was loaded 3 to 2 in favor of a rent increase, but this maneuver was blocked by the tenant representatives, Myer arguing that the recommendations of this committee would virtually amount to final action by the board and that this was too important a question to be decided by a committee.

After several attempts by the landlord representatives to delay action had been beaten down, the specific findings of fact proposed by Michael Mann, secretary of the Chicago CIO Council, were adopted.

By its action the Cook County Rent Advisory Board has, at least locally, reversed the trend toward rent increases and decontrol which was written into the Housing and Rent Act of 1949 passed by the 81st Congress. This was made possible only because of the existence here of an effective tenant's organization, the Chicago Tenants Federation.

Livid with rage and frustration, after the meeting of the board, the landlord representatives and their attorney threatened to appeal again to the Emergency Court of Appeals and to have the board cited for contempt of court, if necessary.

WORKERS FORUM

The Workers Who Produce Meat Can't Afford to Buy It

Editor:

It is interesting to note in the statistics of the U. S. Department of Agriculture that per capita consumption of meat has fallen from prewar in all the leading meat-producing countries except the United States and Canada. U. S. meat production is up 17% and Canada 14% from prewar to 1948. At the same time meat consumption in these two countries went down from 1947 to 1948. This is the result of lower incomes for workers caused by unemployment and shorter hours. Even the workers who produce the meat of the country cannot afford to buy it. This is another one of the great contradictions of capitalism.

Packinghouse Workers' Wife,
St. Paul, Minn.

Complaint from A Shachtmanite

Editor:

In **The Militant** for Oct. 24 appeared an article by Ali on the Congress of the Peoples Against Imperialism. Since the article criticized myself and the Independent Socialist League in terms that I have hitherto encountered only in the Stalinist press, I ask for the opportunity to reply. . .

(1) The question of Levan's exclusion from the International Committee . . . it was in no sense a question of voting for Stalinism versus Trotskyism. The congress had already agreed that **every national affiliate from Asia and Africa** would be represented on the International Committee, even if there were more than one organization from the same country. There was therefore no question of Levan OR some other Vietnamese being on the committee. The membership of one on the committee would in no sense prejudice the right of the other to membership.

It was therefore **only** a question of deciding whether to add Levan on the committee by defining the delegation of Vietnamese Workers in France as a national movement. Furthermore, if that had been passed, we would have immediately been confronted with a demand for representation for the organizations of **African students in Britain,** some of whom are influenced by Stalinism. Their status, that of a small community temporarily located in another country, is exactly the same as that of Levan's organization. It can be seen, therefore, that the delegates were wise in voting that Levan's organization is a local one and ineligible for the International Committee. . .

(2) My abstention on a declaration of the European Commission pledging support for the colonial peoples in the fight against imperialism: Ali complains that this resulted because the statement did not mention Eastern Europe. . .

Here are the facts. Chairman Brockway announced that the European declaration was NOT a resolution that was before the Congress for adoption. It was the **Europeans' declaration only;** it was not subject to amendment by the congress; and it was only up for acceptance — that is, to be read into the minutes, as we would put it in American parliamentary procedure. Given this interpretation by the chairman, I dismissed the whole vote as meaningless. I specifically asked that my position — for unqualified immediate independence for all colonial peoples and for total opposition to both imperialist blocs — be entered into the minutes, so that slanderers like Ali could not misconstrue it, and I proposed that a **resolution by the Congress** on the obligations of the European workers be drawn up which could be subject to amendment, and which finally could be really voted on for and against, by the Congress. . .

Saul Berg
Paris, France

ED. NOTE: We can't make out what Berg is complaining about in his long, abusive letter, the pertinent parts of which are printed above. Ali reported that the Shachtmanites had joined in a Stalinist-instigated move to deny representation on the International Committee of the Congress to the representative of Viet Namese Workers of France — an authentic movement with 15,000 members that plays a leading part in the struggle against the French war of conquest on Indo-China — because their democratically elected representative is a Trotskyist. On the face of Berg's own letter, it is clear that he did join in this move, despite his efforts to obscure its significance.

Ali also reported that Berg "abstained from voting on a declaration from the European Commission pledging active support for the colonial peoples in the fight against imperialism. The reasons he gave were that the statement should have included condemnation of Russian oppression in Eastern Europe." Here too Berg's letter confirms Ali's report, his real objection being that Ali does not accept Berg's legalistic justification for an abstentionist attitude to a declaration of support for the colonial fight against imperialism.

The facts show, in this instance as in all others, that the Shachtmanites are guided primarily by Stalinophobia and by unprincipled combinations with all the petty-bourgeois opponents of Trotskyism. If they don't like their shabby behavior to be publicized, then they ought to stop behaving in a shabby manner.

Workers Block Big Steel Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

make no new demands on pensions and insurance for five years, but the company can terminate the pension plan after two years if it so desires.

In accepting the meager pension and insurance programs, the steel union leaders sacrificed the union's "fourth round" wage demands. The overwhelming majority of steel workers will not get one penny more in their pay envelopes as a result of this strike. In addition, the new contract runs until Dec. 31, 1951, with one 30-day wage reopener starting Dec. 31, 1950. In effect, the contract represents a 1½ to 2½-year wage freeze from the time of the last contract termination.

Thus, what Murray gave away, in terms of no immediate wage gains and a prolonged wage freeze, far outweighs the limited pension and welfare gains. Worst of all, this wage-freeze has established the pattern in all basic industries.

COST WORKERS DEARLY

Murray's dependence on favors from Truman and his "fact-finding" machinery cost the steel workers dearly. The steel board reduced the union's demands to a pittance. In return for this pittance, Murray led the steel workers to believe that they would not have to strike.

But Murray's eagerness to avoid a fight at almost all costs, plus Truman's advance assurance to the steel companies that they did not have to accept the steel board's recommendations, emboldened the steel masters to demand unconditional surrender on their own terms.

The steel workers were thus forced to strike anyway, but under unfavorable conditions and for a mere crumb. They could just as well have gone on strike to begin with and won far better terms, including some immediate wage gains.

Not the least consequence of the steel "fact-finding" procedure and the miserable terms of the steel pension settlement is the obstacle they have placed in the way of the coal miners. Acting on behalf of the steel companies which own the major coal mines, Truman is now preparing to use the "fact-finding" method to force an inadequate settlement down the miners' throats and to block improvements in the miners' pension and welfare plan.

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THE MILITANT ARMY

Cleveland, Seattle, New Haven, Boston Complete Sub Quotas

Cleveland forged ahead last week in the national subscription campaign for **The Militant** to tie **New Haven** for first place. With the campaign at the half way mark it looks like even money on which branch doubles its goal first. Each has scored 173%.

The **New Haven** comrades have succeeded in combining intensive sub-getting with excellent sales of single copies of **The Militant.** Literature Agent **N. S.** writes that in one hour of neighborhood visiting three comrades sold six subs and 25 **Militants.** At a meeting at Yale University of about 80 people, 10 **Militants** and one copy of **Fourth International** were sold. At another meeting on the campus of about 100 people "we sold 11 **Militants,** two **FIs** and five pamphlets. One boy from Missouri thanked us gratefully for selling him literature."

The **Boston** branch managed to hold third place but had to top their goal by an extra 20% to do it.

Seattle, with 100% of its goal completed, is pressing the **Boston** comrades. Literature Agent **Marianne Stanley** feels that "we will go well beyond our quota and perhaps double it. We find it fairly easy to sell the 50c. sub." The Seattle branch is really doing a remarkable job since they just finished a successful local sub campaign.

The seasoned **Minneapolis** campaigners seem to have shifted into high gear. A score of 88% at the half-way mark puts them right out in front so far as the branches with larger quotas are concerned.

The **Allentown** comrades likewise are well ahead of schedule with 80% of their quota taken care of.

St. Paul did well last week, increasing their score from 63% to 77%.

Almost neck and neck with St. Paul, is the **Toledo** branch. "We don't get subs in batches," writes Literature Agent **A. West.** "but a few every so often will help on our quota." Toledo is already on the home stretch with 76%.

The **Flint** comrades report that they are "meeting with trouble on account of short working hours." However they are "getting fairly good results" as can be seen from their score of 60% of a quota of 50. That's better than on schedule.

Milwaukee, also doing better than schedule, hopes "to increase this tempo once we get the Militant Task Force into high gear," according to **Militant** Manager **Fred Martin.**

Reporting for **Detroit,** Literature Agent **Shirley Mason** writes that the comrades have not yet had a real opportunity to get going. "In the next few weeks we intend to correct this and we expect to have our quota of subs in by the deadline." Like Seattle, the Detroit branch recently completed a successful local sub campaign.

The **Buffalo** comrades are having unusual difficulties. Workers have not yet had a chance to make up for what was lost in wages during the strikes. On top of this, the Socialist Workers Party has been the target of a savage red-baiting campaign in the capitalist newspapers. Despite these obstacles, they write that they expect to put Buffalo on the sub campaign map "before the month is over."

New York too ran into difficulties. Engaged in supporting a major meeting scheduled for James Kutcher and a Christmas bazaar to collect funds for needy workers in Europe, the New York comrades felt forced to postpone its sub campaign. **Michael Bartell,** Organizer of the New York Local, declared that "New York pledges, nevertheless, to account for a substantial number of subs this month, and promises to fulfill its quota of 300 at a later date when it can clear the decks for a full scale campaign."

The scoreboard below has been adjusted so that subs obtained by New York are not shown.

Branch	Goal	Points	%
Cleveland	15	26	173
New Haven	15	26	173
Boston	15	18	120
Seattle	15	15	100
Minneapolis	75	66	88
Allentown	10	8	80
St. Paul	35	27	77
Toledo	25	19	76
Pittsburgh	25	16	64
Flint	50	30	60
Worcester	20	12	60
Milwaukee	25	14	56
Philadelphia	75	30	40
San Francisco	35	11	31
St. Louis	10	3	30
Detroit	50	14	28
Chicago	60	11	18
Newark	50	9	18
Los Angeles	250	29	12
Youngstown	20	2	10
Buffalo	100	3	3
Akron	25	0	0
Morgantown	10	0	0
New Britain	10	0	0
Oakland	30	0	0
General		12	
Total	1,050	401	38

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TROTSKY

"Do the consequences of a revolution justify in general the sacrifices it involves?. . . It would be as well to ask in face of the difficulties and griefs of personal existence: Is it worth while to be born? Melancholy reflections have not so far, however, prevented people from bearing or being born. Even in the present epoch of intolerable misfortune only a small percentage of the population of our planet resorts to suicide. But the people are seeking the way out of their unbearable difficulties in revolution. Is it not remarkable that those who talk most indignantly about the victims of social revolutions are usually the very ones who, if not directly responsible for the victims of the world war, prepared and glorified them, or at least accepted them? It is our turn to ask: Did the war justify itself? What has it given us? What has it taught?"
—Leon Trotsky, History of the Russian Revolution, Vol. III-32.

LENIN

The Re-Arming of Germany

Germany is not yet re-armed. But both Moscow and Washington, each in its own way, are taking long steps in this direction. If it is left to them, it will not be long before Germany is turned once again into an armed camp.

The Stalinist-created monstrosity of a "free and independent" Eastern Germany has just extended full civil rights to former Nazis and ex-officers in Hitler's Wehrmacht, including their right to employment in "public service." The capitalist press has promptly pounced on this as proof that the Kremlin is reassembling on German soil the equivalent of the Reichswehr of the Twenties, the main powerhouse of Hitlerism.

There is a virtually identical situation in the Washington-sponsored monstrosity of a "free and independent" Western Germany. In fact, the "staff officers of Western European armies" are now considering the organization of "five or so" German divisions under the Bonn regime. Projected here, too, is the revival of the Reichswehr.

It is, of course, loudly disclaimed that the re-arming of Germany was one of the items Secretary of State Acheson discussed with his British and French colleagues at their recent top-secret talks in Paris. Only the most gullible people will fail to understand that "Western staff officers" would not dream of broach ing such matters without prompting from Washington. The current denials simply mean that the warmakers still need time for a certain amount of political preparation. Otherwise it will not be easy to make the people here and in Europe swallow the revival of militarism in Germany.

This development is indeed an eloquent commentary on the foreign policies of both Washington and the Kremlin. Stalin does not hesitate to make his peace with the Nazis and the German militarists just as he did with Hitler himself in 1939. But so far as the dissident Yugoslavs are concerned, he will not only make no concessions but is determined to crush them in blood.

At the same time, Stalin's foreign policy has suffered another fiasco. He promised the Soviet people that his conduct of the war would put an end forever to the threat of German militarism. Four years have gone by, and this threat once again looms on the horizon, with Stalin lending a hand personally in evoking it.

So far as Washington is concerned, the latest developments in Germany represent a logical sequel to the "peace-loving" Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact and the foreign arms bill. German militarism may, in the last analysis, prove the chief European beneficiary.

Labor's Need of a Party

American workers, organized in the largest and most powerful trade union movement ever seen under the sun, have now behind them a rich experience of four postwar years marked by numerous important struggles, including the recent steel strike.

What has been the net result of all these struggles? The official leadership is eminently satisfied. The settlement of the steel strike, like the settlements of most of the previous major struggles, has been officially dubbed as a monumental victory.

But this is true only in a very limited sense. The steel workers, like the majority of the labor movement, have emerged victorious primarily in the sense that they have once again succeeded in maintaining their union in the face of repeated provocations and attacks by the billionaire corporations. But in other respects — with regard to their living standards, working conditions, job security, etc. — the best that can be said is that some sections of labor have just barely held their own, while others have actually suffered setbacks.

The "Fair Deal" demagogues are shouting that the workers are on the whole better off than ever before. But most working families, struggling nowadays to make both ends meet, know they were actually better off when the war ended. The reappearance of an army of unemployed millions is by itself evidence that the position of the workers has not improved with the passage of years.

Yet the workers have fought and fought well; they have done everything their leaders called upon them to do, and in many instances, much more. What then accounts for this glaring paradox? It is the refusal of the leaders to extend the struggle beyond limited immediate demands, beyond the traditional boundaries of the trade union movement.

Their own experiences over the last four years should teach the workers that "pure and simple" trade unionism is much too narrow a field for the solution of their problems. The way out lies in the political field.

And here, half-way measures are worse than none. Continued support of capitalist politicians is not only reactionary and futile but tends to discredit the potentially overwhelming political role of labor, demoralizing the workers, dissipating their energies. When labor goes all-out into politics, as it can and will, it must do so openly, under its own banner, with its own party and program, its own candidates.

The Two Smith Act Trials

As Vincent R. Dunne leaves for the West Coast in his national speaking tour on civil rights, the connection between the Minneapolis Trial of 1941 in which he was central figure and the recent conviction of the 11 Communist Party leaders under the same Smith "Gag" Act is again being brought forward in the press.

The Minneapolis trial of the Trotskyists dogs the Stalinists at every stage. The Department of Justice cited it in the original indictment. The federal prosecutor repeatedly referred to it in his arguments. Judge Medina pointed to it as a prime precedent in the charge to the jury which found the CP leaders guilty.

Now, as the convicted Stalinists are preparing their appeal to the higher courts, the case of "Dunne vs U. S.", as it is known in the law records, is being further utilized against the CP.

On Nov. 8, Prof. Maurice I. Wormser sent a letter to the **N. Y. Times** criticizing the Department of Justice for conceding, in the hearing on granting bail to the Stalinists, that there was some ground for questioning the Smith Act's constitutionality. This was an "act of folly," said Wormser, because the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals in the Dunne case validated the constitutionality of the Smith Act, and there was no reason for the government counsel to retract on that point.

A week later another attorney, William F. Smith, backed up Wormser's contention applauded the Supreme Court's refusal to review the convictions of the Trotskyists. He suggested similar treatment for the Stalinists. "Just as it was fair to argue that there was no constitutional question in the Dunne case which warranted consideration by our highest court, in like manner it may be argued that there is no question of constitutionality involved in the conviction of the Communists and that the United States Supreme Court may refuse to entertain an appeal to that tribunal."

A third writer to the **Times** exposes Wormser's argument by pointing out "that the Circuit Court of Appeals is an intermediate appellate court, and not the court of last resort, and that its decisions are subject to review and reversal by the U. S. Supreme Court."

Whatever the Supreme Court does, one thing is already clear. The attempt of the Stalinists to deny any direct connection between the two cases under the Smith Act has been refuted by developments all along the line. And the Stalinists are now reaping the fruits of their own approval of the prosecution against the Trotskyists.

Louis Adamic Reports on Yugoslavs Events

Important revelations on the origins of the Tito-Stalin conflict, which tend to confirm the Trotskyist analysis of this important struggle, are printed in the Mid-Autumn issue of Trends and Tides, the magazine edited and published by Louis Adamic, well-known American writer who recently returned from a six-months stay in Yugoslavia, where he had an opportunity to interview the leading figures in the Tito regime at some length.

Adamic, who is a prominent Wallaceite and author of several books on Yugoslavia, made strenuous efforts before he left for Europe last January to get a visa to the Soviet Union so that he could hear both sides of the dispute from authoritative spokesmen. But as he says:

"In the second half of '48, to have ever had a good word about Tito was as bad to the Russians as it long has been to Westbrook Pegler, the **Chicago Tribune**, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Louis Budenz, and the Un-American Committe. The difference is that Pegler and Co. brand you a Communist or a fellow traveler, which they before hand made synonymous with subversive or un-American; while in the Soviet book you are suddenly a reactionary shark, a fascist beast, a gangster, or, at the very least, an American spy or imperialist agent."

VISA DENIED

After being closely questioned by the Soviet embassy in Washington, Adamic was finally denied a visa. (He reveals that in 1948 George Seldes, editor of In Fact, likewise was denied entry into the Soviet Union.) Adamic did obtain Czechoslovak, Polish and Hungarian visas, but after he went to Yugoslavia the Stalinists spread the word that he was poison, he was cut off from all contact with his friends in those countries, and the government publishers in Warsaw suddenly cancelled the publication of one of his books in Polish.

When Adamic arrived in Belgrade he was greeted warmly by government officials and granted off-the-record interviews. He soon realized that the Yugoslav leaders, instead of telling the whole story to the world, were "still only replying to the Cominform resolution, which clearly had next-to-nothing to do with the real causes of the rift. Why? Why?

"I put this question to Tito, Kardelj and others. . . This wasn't the time, they replied, to give out the entire story. Evidently some of them, perhaps Tito especially, were still hoping for a change of mind in the Kremlin and within the Cominform. Or they were afraid that if the people knew it all, they'd turn too fiercely anti-Soviet. . ."

TITO DECIDES TO TALK

But Stalin's hostile pressure mounted rapidly this year, and in May the Tito leadership was ready to talk freely to Adamic as well as world public opinion. What Adamic learned will be reported in his next book, **Tito**, to be published early next year, and in the columns of his magazine, beginning with the current issue.

Under a picture of Stalin and Tito posing coldly side by side on the occasion of the signing of their treaty of friendship and mutual defense in 1945, Adamic says:

"**. . . the two men look but anything as they should at the signing of such a treaty. Why? Was it because Stalin, for the second time, insisted that Yugoslavia remain a monarchy and retain King Peter, while Tito said — for the second time, and emphatically — that that couldn't be done? And why did Stalin want to retain the King? Because he had an agreement with Britain on the future of Yugoslavia on which Yugoslavs were not consulted.**"

Adamic promises to expand on this matter later on. In the current issue he adds:

WHAT STALIN WANTED

"When the Tito-led Yugoslav Revolution got underway in 1941-42, Moscow was no less opposed to it than were London, the Vatican, and Washington — but out of somewhat different motives. Stalin wanted resistance in occupied countries, but a **limited** resistance — limited to being a nuisance to the Axis forces, compelling Hitler to keep a substantial number of his divisions away from the Eastern front. Stalin did **not** want resistance combined with revolution. Tito combined the two."

Adamic notes that Stettinius, in his recently published book, reported that Stalin, at the Yalta Conference in, 1944, had made "contemptuous remarks" about Yugoslavia. Adamic says, "Stalin has as little respect for small nations as Churchill, but, unlike Churchill, is utterly unsubtle about it. He has no faith in the progressive potentialities of peoples other than the Russians . . . and therein is one of the chief differences between him and Tito."

Despite evidence to the contrary, Adamic contends that "Tito was **not** trained in the Soviet secret-police school or in any other Russian school. He was never a Comintern insider." But Adamic has not yet disclosed the material on which he bases this contention.

He also claims that "The Comintern was never inclined to favor Tito or the CPY, which, after Tito become its secretary-general in 1937, received no financial support from outside of Yugoslavia . . . Moscow's attitude toward the Yugoslav Communists . . . was something that often baffled them."

COMINFORM ROLE

The Yugoslavs "naively" thought the creation of the Cominform would bring better and more equal relations with the Soviet Union, he adds. "But, as it turned out, the Soviet purpose in creating the Cominform was to have a gimmick with which to dispose of 'the Tito clique'" and take over control of Yugoslavia.

Adamic summarizes his view of the conflict in the following passage: "Throughout the war and since, the Kremlin has tried, through their Russian and native-Yugoslav NKVD agents, to destroy the Tito-Karkelj-Djilas-Rankovich-Piyade-Kidrich quality of the Yugoslav Revolution, and to replace it which strictly Russian methods, such as are in effect in Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Albania. That aim is connected with 'the cold war.' It issues from various factors in the complexity of the Soviet character as it has developed under Stalin out of Russia's backwardness and her 30-year revolutionary agony. (See Isaac Deutscher's biography, **Stalin.**) That character can now realize itself only in conquest, in Red imperialism, in imposing on Eastern Europe what passes for socialism in the USSR."

HIS PAPER TO BE WEAPON

Adamic says he knows that his decision to tell the truth about the Stalin-Tito conflict is going to bring brickbats his way "from the ill-informed and unthinking part of the Left" as well as the right. Although it won't be easy, "financially or otherwise," he says he is going into the fight "after careful deliberation" because "I can't dodge it and live with myself." He promises that **Trends and Tides** "will be a weapon in the fight. . . It will challenge lies, distortions, nonsense; it will meet attacks."

The current issue of his magazine (address: Milford, N. J.) is being sent free to all present and some prospective subscribers.

CHURCHILL, TITO AND STALIN

In an attempt to "prove" that Tito is and for a long time has been an agent of Churchill, the Stalinists are giving a lot of publicity to a speech Churchill made in the British Parliament on May 24, 1944. Jessica Smith, in the October **Soviet Russia Today** and in the Nov. 6 **Worker**, makes a big point of the fact that in this speech the British imperialist had "kindly words" to say about Franco and Tito. She even quotes these words of Churchill about Tito:

"Marshall Tito has largely sunk his communistic aspect in his character as a Yugoslav patriotic leader. He has repeatedly proclaimed that he has no intention of reversing the property and social systems which prevail in Serbia."

But she fails to quote another and much more laudatory section from this very same speech, in which Churchill had the following words of high praise for Stalinism in the Soviet Union:

"Profound changes have taken place in Soviet Russia. The Trotskyite form of communism has been completely wiped out. The victories of the Russian armies have been attended by a great rise in strength of the Russian state and a remarkable broadening of its views. The religious side of Russian life has had a wonderful rebirth. The discipline and military etiquette of the Russian armies are unsurpassed. There is a new national anthem. . . These are marked departures from conceptions which were held some years ago."

The question that the Stalinists will have to answer is this: If Churchill's praise of Tito in 1944 proved Tito was an agent of imperialism, what does his praise about the reactionary development of Stalinism prove?

Poland, Bulgaria Engulfed By Vast Stalinist Purges

The predicted purges of Stalinist parties and governments in Eastern Europe are now being officially confirmed. Most sweeping and spectacular to date have been the developments in Poland where three ranking party members have been expelled from the Central Committee.

The expelled are: Wladyslaw Gomulka, former Deputy Premier, General Marian Spychalski, former Vice Minister of Defense and Zenon Kliszko, former Vice Minister of Justice. Gomulka, under fire for some time as a "Titoist," denied the charge publicly several months ago, but this did not save him. President Beirut, in a public speech on Nov. 15, announced that the entire party would be subjected to a purge.

Directly connected with the drastic changes among Polish ruling circles is the appointment of one of the Kremlin's top military figures, Marshal Rokossovsky, to the post of Commander-in-Chief. In addition to assuming the post of Minister of Defense, Rokossovsky has entered the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Polish party.

NO ONE TO TRUST

In the person of Rokossovsky, Stalin has in effect installed a military dictator over Poland. It is noteworthy that among all his native Polish agents Stalin evidently could not find a single individual reliable enough to entrust with such a role.

Under Rokossovsky the Polish army will undoubtedly be rigidly reorganized along Russian lines and the Russification of the country as a whole greatly speeded up.

This process of Russification is not limited to Poland alone but has simply reached a more advanced stage there. In other satellite countries the glorification of all things Russian and the deification of Stalin are proceeding apace. Russian textbooks have been introduced into elementary schools and the study of the Russian language has been made compulsory.

There has been wide speculation in capitalist chancelleries as to whether these may not be preliminary steps toward the integration of the Eastern European countries within the framework of the Soviet Union.

DEFECTIONS MOUNT

There is still no official confirmation of the purge in Bulgaria but it appears that heads are falling there on almost the same scale as in Poland. According to reports from Belgrade, about a dozen former prominent government and party figures in Bulgaria have already been lopped off, with the purge extending from top to bottom.

Meanwhile there have been new defections in the ranks of the French Stalinists and among their sympathizers. A group of French intellectuals, including Claude Bourdet, of the liberal paper **Combat**, Louis Martin Chauffier and Avenline, two Stalinist supporters over many years, have denounced the Hungarian Treason Trial. So has the "League of the Rights of Man," which once approved the Moscow Frameups.

A number of expulsions of "Titoist" elements have recently taken place in the Belgian Communist Party which is now in the throes of an organizational and political crisis.

In Italy, Nenni's "Left Wing Socialists" are sharply split over the issue of Yugoslavia. A dissident group has accepted an invitation to visit Yugoslavia and has sent a delegation of ten. The Nenni leadership has publicly attacked this delegation and issued an appeal to the Yugoslavs to oppose the Tito regime.

From all indications, the international crisis of Stalinism precipitated by the Tito-Stalin break, far from abating, has yet to reach its most acute phases.

Book Review

LEFT, RIGHT AND CENTER by Sidney Lens, Henry Regnery Co., 1949, 445 pp., $4.

This is one of the best recent books on the labor movement. Sidney Lens has a practical knowledge of trade union affairs, as he was a labor official for many years and is at present director of AFL United Service Employees Local 329 in Chicago. The author also has a certain background in the radical movement and this enables him to approach union problems from a more fundamental and rounded viewpoint than the average labor journalist.

There are excellent chapters tracing the growth and consolidation of AFL business unionism, its victory over the radicals, the material basis and reasons for racketeering and bureaucratism.

Lens understands very well — and this is his superiority over most authors in this field — that there are "two worlds of labor," the well-paid union leaders who form a bureaucracy and the rank and file membership. He knows something of the complexities of the problem which work to exude a labor bureaucracy at a given stage in a union's evolution, and to separate it from the needs and aspirations of the ranks.

It is an unfortunate commentary on the book, however, that its best discussions and understanding of this problem relate to the past decades, covering ground which has been written about by other authors. The closer Lens approaches the present-day labor movement, the more blurred and unsure his vision becomes. He sees the conservatism and inadequacy of the CIO officialdom and understands that labor must have its own party and practice its own independent brand of politics. But like others, he hasn't fully grasped that a new bureaucratic crust has formed itself on the modern unions, that the new bureaucrats operate in a different way and with different methods but that their influence in the labor movement is all the more deadly in its effects.

Because he has not fully comprehended these recent developments, Lens can propose as his solution that "The true lefts [Reuther, Mazey, Baldanzi] must divorce themselves from the right [Murray] in order that labor can move ahead. . . If Walter Reuther, Emil Mazey, George Baldanzi, and other actual left elements in the top leadership refuse to cut the umbilical cord to business unionism, than the task must fall to others of lower rank."

Of course, this is a better sentiment than writing a court biography of Reuther. Still, it isn't quite an accurate way of putting the matter. It is possible that the Reuthers and Baldanzis may assume the leadership of a new movement of insurgency in the future just as Lewis, Murray and Hillman assumed leadership of the CIO uprising.

Nevertheless they are not left wingers but well-developed social reformists, and that is the role they are consciously playing in the labor movement. The job of the true left wingers is not to call upon the Reuthers and Baldanzis to lead them, but to organize a left wing in opposition to them as well as the Murrays and Buckmasters.

B. C.

V. D. Dunne's Tour

Seattle — Nov. 29-Dec. 1.
San Francisco-Oakland — Dec. 4-7.
Los Angeles — Dec. 10-13.
St. Louis — Dec. 17.
Chicago — Dec. 18-21, 24-25.
Milwaukee — Dec. 23.
Toledo — Dec. 27.
Detroit — Dec. 28, 31-Jan. 1-2.
Flint — Dec. 29-30.
Cleveland — Jan. 3-4.
Akron — Jan. 5.
Youngstown — Jan. 6-7.
Pittsburgh — Jan. 8.
Morgantown — Jan. 9.
Buffalo — Jan. 12-14.
Rochester — Jan. 13.
Boston — Jan. 15-16.
Lynn — Jan. 17.
Worcester — Jan. 18.
New Britain — Jan. 19.
New Haven — Jan. 20.
New York — Jan. 21, 26.
Philadelphia — Jan. 22-23.
Allentown — Jan. 24.
Reading — Jan. 25.
Newark — Jan. 27.

RDR HEADS TOWARD OBLIVION AS SARTRE, ROUSSET RESIGN

PARIS, Nov. 9 — The French RDR (Democratic and Revolutionary Rally), the pretentious grouping which was formed early last year, is now in a state of collapse. At a meeting of its leading body last month, the writers Jean-Paul Sartre and David Rousset — leaders of the organization's left and right wings respectively—resigned from the RDR. Before quitting, Sartre, who was dissatisfied with the line being followed by the RDR, undertook to pay its debts.

Disregarding questions of program, the RDR proposed, at its inception, to mobilize broad masses hostile both to Moscow and Washington. Demonstrating the petty-bourgeois character of the movement, its leaders concocted a "new" slogan: "Proletarians and Free Men of the World, Unite!" The Shachtmanites, who never tire of burying the Trotskyists periodically, hailed it as "the most hopeful and potentially significant organization in France."

All the RDR ever succeeded in rallying were such writers as Sartre and Rousset, some renegade leaders of the French Trotskyist party who claimed that they were going to build a "mass" revolutionary movement through the RDR, plus a handful of Socialist Party members (who quickly withdrew on the orders of their leaders). At its peak the RDR recruited a few hundred members, unengaged in any form of activity.

Last spring the RDR, under the leadership of Rousset, tried to stage a big "peace" rally in Paris in competition with one of the Stalinist shindigs. Sartre publicly dissociated himself from this affair, which was used as a soundboard for Wall Street and the Atlantic Pact and, incidentally, proved a fiasco.

The internal crisis of the RDR began to develop from that time, with political disagreements growing and culminating in the present resignations. A meeting of the Paris membership, attended by 30, met recently but came to no conclusion on what to do. The newspaper **Le Monde** correctly notes that to all intents and purposes the organization is defunct.

Visit your local headquarters of the

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

AKRON—For information, write P.O. Box 1342.

BOSTON—Worker's Educational Center, 10 Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-9:00 p.m., social last Sat. of month.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MAdison 3960. Every afternoon except Sun.

CHICAGO—166 W. Washington Blvd. Rm. 312-314. Daily except Sun., 11:30 to 3:30; or phone for an appointment.

CLEVELAND — Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Pk. Ave.) Monthly Public Forum, 1st Sun., 8 p.m.

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6267, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m.

FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8081.

LYNN, (Mass.)—Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p.m.

MILWAUKEE—817 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone Hopkins 2-5537.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Library, bookstore.

NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.) — For information write P. D. Box No. 639 or phone 8-3287.

NEW HAVEN—For information write, P.O. Box No. 1019.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-3574. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p.m.

NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Place. Phone GR 5-8149.
HARLEM—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 3B. Phone MO 2-1866. Open discussion, Thurs., 8 p.m.
BRONX—Hunts Point Palace, 953 Southern Blvd; Room 26. Every Fri. night at 8:30 p.m.
BROOKLYN — Mandel's Manor, 343 Pennsylvania Ave., off Sutter, meetings every Thurs. evening at 8.
CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone AL 5-2488.

OAKLAND (Cal.) — For information, phone TEmplebar 2-8153 or TEmplebar 2-3735, or write P. Montauk, 906-B Cypress St., Oakland 7.

PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p.m.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Forums 2nd Fri. each month. Marxist class 4 p.m. every Sat. Meetings every Thurs., 7:30 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m.

ST. LOUIS — "For information, phone PR 5305."

SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., R. 201. So. & Washington. Tel. Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meeting Tues., 7:30 p.m. Library, bookstore.

TOLEDO — Address inquiries to Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 1502, Toledo 3.

WORCESTER, (Mass.) — For information write P.O. Box 564, Worcester.

YOUNGSTOWN — 324 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIII | MONDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1949 | NUMBER 47

Rioting in Chicago

By Ruth Johnson

On the South Side in Chicago, close to the Negro ghetto district, a CIO organizer last week held a meeting of union stewards in his home. Some of the men were Negroes. A passerby or neighbor who saw them enter the house, started a rumor that Negroes were moving in, and thereby began a series of vicious racist demonstrations that still rock the area as I write this five days later.

According to the United Press, crowds began to gather outside the organizer's home on Tuesday, Nov. 8, the night of the meeting. Gangs of young hoodlums roamed through streets and alleys "chasing persons they believed to be Negroes or Negro sympathizers." Reporters saw the inflamed mob beat, kick and pummel its victims.

A day later the chief of police estimated that 10,000 rioters were swarming the vicinity, many of them armed with rocks, bottles, and clubs of two-by-fours. On Nov. 12, a dispatch from Chicago to the N. Y. Post reported two persons hospitalized, many others less seriously injured, and roving bands still attacking cars and pedestrians. Sporadic arrests of a few racists have done nothing to halt their violence.

According to the Post, the rioters shouted that there is a "plot" for "Jews to buy up houses and sell them later to Negroes." (The CIO organizer happens to be Jewish.)

This lie itself gives the real reason for the outburst, and shows the futility of the Mayor's method of "combatting" the rioters. The bitter struggle for a place to live has been the cause of case after case of anti-Negro violence in Chicago (and elsewhere) in recent years. It aggravates to a fever-pitch all the latent antagonism against the Negro and Jewish people.

But Democratic Mayor Kennelly, now "discussing" the situation with his Council on Human Relations, will do nothing to ease the housing shortage. The vast profits made by the landlords would be in danger if Chicago and other cities initiated the building program that the people need. The biggest profits of all are made out of the tenement hovels to which the Negroes are condemned by discrimination. Here the rents are highest, congestion worst. The real estate interests, protected by both capitalist parties, are in the forefront of the reactionary struggle to maintain "restrictive covenants." Their system of "black belt" and "white gentile" housing operates with the consent of the law and adds fuel to the fire of the race-haters.

Neither Kennelly nor any capitalist politician will attack the precious profits of the landlords, or defend the right of the people to live where they choose. Nor will they use any effective means to combat discrimination and brutality, for these are essential to their own rule.

The Mayor's Council on Human Relations continues to meet in secret session, and instruct the local papers to suppress all news of the assaults. To the Council, the attacks are an embarrassment and annoyance, undermining widespread illusions about its effectiveness. Kennelly hopes that if nothing is said publicly, the rioters will get tired and go home before anyone is murdered.

But to the workers, the Negro people, the Jewish people, this outrage is no unpleasant family dispute to be kept from prying eyes. It is a crime against the entire American people. It must be exposed and seen for what it is — an inevitable part of the terror of capitalism, that will end only when the parasites are removed from power.

Ten Babies Starve to Death

By Dave Dreiser

Ten babies have died of starvation in the San Joaquin Valley in central California in recent weeks, according to reports from officials of Kings and Fresno Counties.

All of them have been children of migrant farm laborers come to harvest the cotton, fruit and vegetable crops of one of the richest farm belts of the world. The bitter paradox of starvation in the midst of plenty faces 150,000 workers and their families now living in labor camps consisting of squalid tents and shacks.

After the fourth reported death, Kings County Health Officer Dr. Donald Upp said that "the problem of malnutrition is spread over the entire valley," and that the camps are "shocking in their lack of proper sanitation, shelter and heating facilities." Officials said these conditions were reminiscent of those described in the novel, **Grapes of Wrath.**

But these officials have no intention of taking action against the powerful landlord interests who are responsible for the miserable living conditions of the migrant workers. Kings County District Attorney William Harp demanded an investigation of the conditions under which the children died so that he can file criminal charges against — "parents found guilty of negligence."

County Supervisor Russel Troutner took a similar line. "What would you have us do? We can't put a nurse in the home of each midwestern family located in the county. These people are working and getting paid — I don't know what they do with their money. If we educate them, other migrants will come next year with the same problem."

The murder of innocent babes is taking place in the so-called "good" season. The worst is yet to come. H. L. Mitchell, international president of the AFL National Farm Laborers Union, says that conditions in this area are worse than those he has seen in a lifetime spent in the southern states. He predicts that 100,000 of these workers will be unemployed this winter, with no agency to provide for them. He says he will ask a House Labor and Education Sub-Committee arriving in California soon to investigate conditions, especially on the Di Georgio estate which the NFLU has picketed for two years.

The **Merced Sun Star**, a San Joaquin Valley newspaper, rejected the attempts to blame parental carelessness for the death of the children and declared: "How can people living in crowded dirty hovels be expected to care properly for themselves and their young?" The question that goes with this is: How can people help living in such hovels when they are underpaid and exploited so intensely?

Meanwhile, Fresno County officials have announced that a total of 16 deaths, in which malnutrition was a major factor, have occurred in their county alone. The toll of human life through starvation seems fated to continue in one of the most fertile food-producing areas in the world so long as profits are given priority over human needs.

SIU LEADERS MASK OWN 'CANNIBAL' TACTICS WITH TROTSKYIST-BAITING

(Continued from Page 1)

through the picket lines to sail the vessels loaded with hot oil. Naturally, for services rendered, Lundeberg was rewarded with a Union Oil Company contract!

According to the code of the SIU-SUP officialdom, the "crime" of "non-concurring" in their strikebreaking activities is considered "disruption" of the first order. For this "crime" no punishment is too severe. In a Seattle membership meeting of the SUP, John Mahoney, veteran of the 1934 strike, asks a "point of information" on the role of SIU-SUP officials in the Canadian Seamen's strike. Answer: Expulsion!

BUREAUCRACY GONE MAD

The Seattle membership elects a Mahoney Defense Committee to fight the illegal expulsion? The committee is expelled. Individual members who openly oppose the expulsions are themselves expelled. Men who fought on picket lines to build the union are railroaded out while newcomers who "concur" in strikebreaking and participate in raids are rewarded with special privileges. This is bureaucracy gone mad!

Cannibal unionism is codified in the SUP by an established policy of "respecting only bonafide AFL picket lines." In the SIU it is given a more glossy veneer in an Agents Conference decision to "broaden the basis of organization to include those fields in the maritime industry not claimed in the jurisdiction of any other AFL union." It is this policy, carried to extreme, which has created so much disruption on the waterfront. No amount of red-baiting the Trotskyists can mask the real disrupters.

(Cannibal unionism relies heavily on the permit system. Of 20,000 members in the SIU approximately half are permit men. Our next article will deal with the permit system.)

Truman's Deeds Belie His Words On Civil Rights

Since Congress adjourned, Truman has been talking up civil rights again and saying that now he's really going to fight to put over his civil rights program promised before the November 1948 elections. He made a "no retreat, no compromise" speech to this effect just last week.

Meanwhile, where he doesn't need to wait for Congress and can act himself, Truman does nothing. We refer to his continued refusal, as Commander-in-Chief, to end segregation of Negroes in the U. S. armed forces.

It's not because he hasn't the power. We saw what authority he has — if he wants to exercise it—when he unceremoniously booted Admiral Denfeld out of his Navy command.

PAUL GATES, LEADING UAW MILITANT, DIES AT MEETING

DETROIT, Nov. 9 — Thousands of Hudson workers here and progressives throughout the CIO United Auto Workers are mourning the loss of Paul Gates, outstanding UAW militant and recording secretary of Hudson Local 154, who died at the union hall during a heated meeting on Oct. 28.

The **Local 154 Builder**, issued today, is devoted to a tribute to Gates, who was widely recognized as a "model militant" among rank-and-file and local leaders in the Michigan labor movement.

"In an unprecedented tribute to this pioneer union builder," reports the **Builder**, "the entire Hudson plant shut down for two minutes of silent mourning at 10 a.m. the day of his burial."

CHARTER MEMBER

Gates was a charter member of Local 154, which he helped to form, back before the CIO, as an AFL federal local. He had worked in the auto industry since 1915, in Hudson since 1923.

At the time of his death, the 54-year-old Gates was a leader of the Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW, a grouping formed to restore the UAW's progressive fighting traditions and union democracy in opposition to the conservative and dictatorial rule of Walter Reuther.

The **Builder** reports that Gates collapsed and died of a blood clot in the heart a few minutes after he addressed the Hudson local meeting "in answer to a vicious anti-union slander campaign" against the local union and its administration, with Gates as the chief target.

UNION PAYS HIM TRIBUTE

A biographical memorial article in the Builder summed him up as "a man of principle" who "did not take principles lightly" and "did not barter them for personal gain or advancement. And the principles that were nearest and dearest to him were those of true unionism, the organized solidarity of all workers in militant defense of their interests."

The paper pays tribute to the continuous determined fight he put up for the more deprived sectors of the workers, the Negro and women workers.

At the funeral service attended by hundreds of Paul Gates' fellow-unionists, Hudson Local President Claude Bland said: "It will be many months before the full extent of the loss of Brother Gates will be truly appreciated by the union he served so long, so faithfully and so well."

MILWAUKEE

Penny Carnival

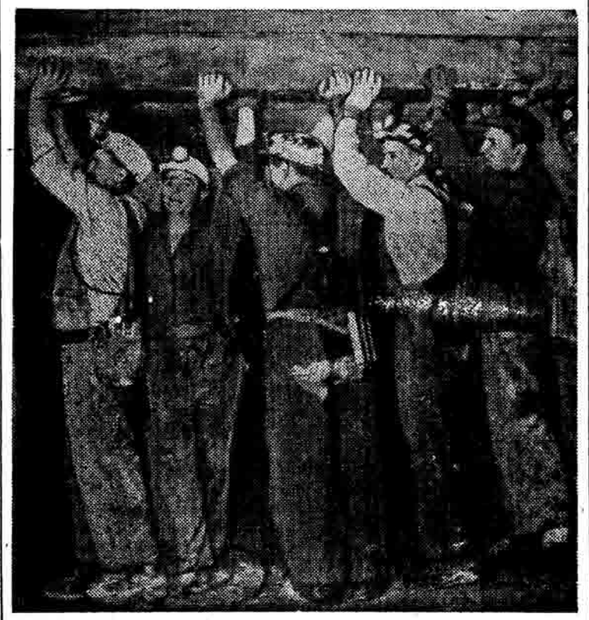
Sat. at 8 PM — **Nov. 26**

Donation 25 Cents

Door Rebate 6 Cents

SWP HALL - 917 N. 3rd St.

Miners Take Strike Recess



A timbering crew at New Kathleen Mine, near DuQuion, Ill., returns to work after their 52-day nationwide strike was temporarily called off until Dec. 1.

TOLEDO UNION-BUSTERS COMMITTEE EXPOSED

TOLEDO, Nov. 13 — Not one of the 125 companies under contract with the UAW-CIO in this vicinity has agreed to the union's demand for an area-wide pension plan covering all the companies. Meanwhile the local dispute over pensions was kept simmering all week as the so-called Committee to Save Toledo's Payrolls, an aggregation of bankers, industrialists and publishers, kept up its barrage of anti-labor propaganda through newspaper ads and speeches before businessmen's organizations.

The latest announcement from this outfit claims over 3,000 people have joined its ranks. Its program to eliminate a non-existent labor dictatorship here is so manifestly a union-busting tactic that its most recent propaganda has begun to play down this point and to concentrate its fire against the area-wide feature of the pension plan.

Apparently there is some disagreement among the millionaires who are running this committee. The **Toledo Blade**, Paul Block Jr.'s paper which spark-plugged the formation of the committee, has changed its braying to a whine:

THE BLADE'S ADVICE

"The Committee to Save Toledo's Payrolls has got off on the wrong foot. Although it says that it is opposed only to Mr. Gosser's untried and unsound geography pension plan, a great many people have got the impression that it is opposed to pensions generally," it says. ". . . a great many people have got the impression that it is anti-labor generally."

The Blade advises the committee to call on its industrialists to declare themselves on the pension issue and fall into step with others around the country who have granted pensions of one kind or another to their workers. This "change" in the Blade's position reflects the recent settlements in the steel industry and is designed to tack with the wind.

But it does not mean that Toledo industrialists are getting ready to accept the UAW's area-wide plan. The danger to the labor movement from the millionaire-sponsored committee which is recruiting potential strikebreakers in its ranks remains and must be met.

From the side of the union there has come a campaign to popularize its demands. This has been conducted through newspaper ads, over the radio and by the passage of resolutions of support by units of UAW Local 12 and other unions.

Up to now, however, there has been no sign that the union leaders are organizing for the kind of struggle that will be necessary to win their demands. Nor is there any indication that concrete steps are planned to combat the formation of the employers' union-busting committee.

With the settlements in the steel industry the union will undoubtedly try to bring the situation to a head in the near future. The present "battle of the newspaper ads" will have to be transferred to the picket lines if the union is to win the pension plan it is demanding. A victory can be assured if the right steps are taken in time:

1. The organization of a Union Defense Committee on a city-wide scale, embracing all parts of organized labor, to meet any threat from the vigilante millionaire committee. 2. The setting of a deadline after which the union will take strike action if the corporation front cannot be breached by that time.

Akron CIO Council Welcomes Kutcher

AKRON, Nov. 14 — James Kutcher wound up a three-day stay here today with an appearance before the CIO Council.

"This case has national importance," declared Paul M. Fessenden, secretary of the CIO Council, in introducing Kutcher to the delegates. "Here in Akron we have successfully defended two victims of loyalty dismissals on the basis of refuting charges of association with listed organizations."

"Kutcher's case is unique," Fessenden continued, "since Kutcher freely avows his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. His case will be the first constitutional test of the loyalty purge."

Fessenden asserted that the CIO Council of Akron was among the first local councils to endorse Kutcher last year. A collection of $42 was raised from the delegates to aid Kutcher. In addition the Council contributed Kutcher's hotel bill.

Prior to the Council appearance, Kutcher spoke before a class in constitutional law at the University of Akron, before the Jewish Community Council, and at a luncheon tendered him by the Akron KCRC.

At an SWP Branch social in his honor, Kutcher received a belt with an initialed silver buckle.

Rummage Sale for Twin Cities SWP

MINNEAPOLIS — A rummage sale will be held here at 810 South **10th St., Wednesday from 8 P.M.** to 10 P.M.; Thursday (Thanksgiving Day) from noon to 5 P.M.; and Friday from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. (Nov. 23, 24 and 25). The sale is sponsored by the St. Paul and Minneapolis branches of the Socialist Workers Party.

Buttons, dresses, coats, shoes and notions of all kinds will be featured at this bargain event. Hundreds of new items — fresh merchandise — have been contributed already.

Militant readers who have donations for the rummage sale are asked to bring them to 10 South 4th St., Minneapolis, the party headquarters, by Wednesday, Nov. 23, if possible.

Pioneer Pocket Library

1. The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International
This basic document was drafted by Leon Trotsky and adopted by the Founding Conference of the Fourth International. 64 pages, 25c.

2. The Suppressed Testament of Lenin, by Leon Trotsky
This document reprints Lenin's last advice to his party and explains why Stalin suppressed it. 48 pages, 25c.

Order from
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116 University Place, 3, N. Y.

IAM Wins NLRB Vote In Seattle Boeing Plant

SEATTLE, Nov. 9 — Lodge No. 751 of the International Association of Machinists came through with flying colors in the NLRB elections conducted at the Boeing Aircraft plant last Wednesday, rolling up a 2 to 1 majority over the "Aeronautical Teamsters," the union that Dave Beck formed in collusion with the company to break the Boeing strike last year.

The vote was 8,107 for the IAM; 4,127 for the Teamsters; and only 401 for no union. 2,132 votes were challenged and 286 votes were void. The challenged votes are those of aid-off Boeing workers and are almost all for the IAM.

The NLRB election was a major event in the life of the city and the great majority of union men and women in Seattle are rejoicing over the Teamsters defeat.

The victory is a tribute to the tremendous staying power of a hard core of some 10,000 Boeing workers who conducted the 144-day strike in 1948. Although their strike went down to defeat, the workers went back with unbroken spirit and solid ranks, determined to recapture all positions.

The plant had been partially filled during the strike by scabs organized by Dave Beck under the Teamsters Union, including some 2,500 former IAM members who deserted in the first weeks of the strike.

In the battle that was then joined inside the plant, the company sided with the Teamsters and gave Beck's organizers the run of the plant. At the same time it launched repeated purges against the most aggressive IAM members.

IAM GOT AFL HELP

But all the moves of the company and Beck put together could not bust the solid ranks of the former strikers and could not keep them from winning over new workers to their side.

In the NLRB elections, as in the course of the strike, Lodge 751 received important support from broad AFL circles in the Northwest. The Puget Sound Council of Lumber and Sawmill workers and the Seattle Typographical workers spearheaded the support on both occasions.

Beck's strikebreaking is resented and feared in the more progressive AFL circles and the Boeing strike brought the long standing opposition into the open. Thus the 1948 Washington State AFL convention went on record condemning Beck for organizing behind the IAM picket lines at Boeing.

Lodge 751 was helped in its campaign by the vigorous fight that the AFL in the San Francisco Bay Area is currently waging against Beck's strikebreaking operations against the Retail Clerks. Lodge 751 gave this fight wide publicity in Seattle to good advantage for itself.

Despite the clear verdict of the NLRB vote, the Teamsters are not out at Boeing's yet. Beck is challenging the elections on the plea of a minor irregularity in the voting procedure.

He is acting on his pre-election threat to the Boeing workers that he will not let go no matter how they may vote. In a pre-election broadcast he also announced that should they ever go out on another strike, he will repeat his scab-herding performance again and again.

However, the solidarity of the IAM members, bolstered by the outcome of the vote and supported by the majority of the workers in the city, will prove too much for Dave Beck in the end.

22 Groups Join Civil Rights Drive At NAACP Call

NEW YORK, Nov. 10 — Representatives of 22 national labor, church, civic and trade organizations formulated plans for a drive to secure passage of FEPC and other civil rights legislation at a conference held here today on call of the NAACP.

Agreeing to join in the sponsorship of the NAACP's civil rights mobilization, the organization representatives pledged support of the campaign on local, state and national levels, including participation in the three-day conference of delegates in Washington next Jan. 15-17.

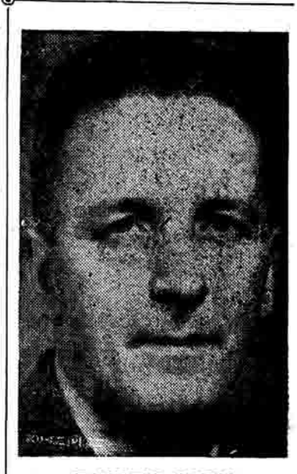
"The Senate passed a new and more difficult closure rule during the first session," Roy Wilkins, acting NAACP secretary, said. "Sponsors of the new rule maintained that it would be possible to pass civil rights measures under it. We intend to test that rule on the FEPC bill next January."

Organizations represented at today's conference include the UAW, ACW and UPWA of the CIO; the Sleeping Car Porters and Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union of the AFL; National Council for Permanent FEPC; National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses; ADA; American Council on Human Rights; National Alliance of Postal Employees; Anti-Defamation League; American Jewish Committee; Delta Sigma Theta Sorority; Federal Council of Churches; Elks; Jewish Labor Committee; Catholic Interracial Council; Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity; National Bar Association; National Negro Funeral Directors Association; National Community Relations Advisory Council.

Organizations which have indicated support of the drive but were not represented today were the CIO; AFL; National Medical Association; International Brotherhood of Teamsters; United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers; United Transport Service Employees; National Baptist Convention; Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity; American Jewish Congress; Negro Newspaper Publishers Association.

Socialized Medicine Upheld By Dobbs in Chicago Debate

CHICAGO, Nov. 13 — Before an audience of 75 people at the Barry Memorial Methodist Church here, Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, today debated Dr. Schaeffer of the church congregation on the issue of socialized medicine.



FARRELL DOBBS

Dobbs showed why medical science under capitalism has failed to furnish proper medical care for millions of families in the lower income groups and why the present deplorable conditions cannot be corrected so long as the doctor must be half-healer and half-businessman.

He explained how socialized medicine will be able to mobilize a mighty army of medical scientists with the most modern technical equipment to provide the very best medical care for all.

AMA DEFENDER

Dr. Schaeffer attacked socialized medicine as **"the first step toward totalitarianism"** and called for blind faith in the policies of the reactionary American Medical Association. At one point in his opening argument, he challenged the audience to name a single person who to their knowledge was unable to get proper medical care.

To his consternation a school teacher announced that she teaches in a Negro community and she has positive knowledge that an alarming number of her students are not able to obtain proper medical service. Dr. Schaeffer then fell back upon the argument that today in Britain "people are going to the doctor to be treated for bee stings" and "the pawn shops are full of eyeglasses." But he had no program to provide proper medical attention for the students in question.

The predominantly middle class audience, which is in a position to meet ordinary doctor bills without too great financial strain, seemed most interested in the fact that private medicine has moved so slowly in the war against killers like cancer which is no respecter of persons regardless of their social position or their financial resources. They asked a number of questions about the methods socialized medicine would employ to combat the killer diseases.

In appreciation of the SWP's courtesy in sending a speaker to explain socialized medicine, a contribution was made to the party from the collection at the meeting.

REPORT ON RETURNS OF MINOR PARTIES IN N. Y. ELECTIONS

NEW YORK — A Police Department tally of the New York City mayoralty election returns gave the following number of votes to the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party: Michael Bartell, candidate for Mayor — 1,379; Harry Ring, candidate for Comptroller — 1,854; Gladys Barker, candidate for President of City Council — 2,334; Harold Robbins, candidate for President of the Borough of Manhattan — 609.

Although the average of the **SWP vote this year marked a** decline from the 2,249 votes received in this city by Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson in 1948, when a considerably larger number of voters went to the polls, it retains roughly the same proportion to the total number of votes cast.

The vote for Joseph Glass, mayoralty candidate of the Socialist Party, dropped sharply in comparison with the 26,742 votes cast for Norman Thomas in New York City last year. This indicates that Thomas received a largely personal vote and that the SP, moribund as an organization, has lost most of its erstwhile independent electoral following.

(The United Press reported on Nov. 12 that a National Executive Committee meeting of the SP, held in Milwaukee, had considered the question of dropping out of the next national election and restricting the party to "educational" activities. The question is to be submitted to a convention next spring.)

The largest gainer of the minor parties in the majoralty election was the antediluvian Socialist Labor Party. Their paper runs a leading article boasting that their increase in votes (their mayoralty candidate got 8,111) was due to the superiority of their program. They do not explain, however, why the increase came this year or what special propaganda device attracted more voters this year than last. Insofar as any cause for the increase can be discerned, it is entirely accidental in origin.

The size of the votes received by the SWP and the two other minor parties can be explained primarily by the still greater attractiveness of the Stalinist American Labor Party and the "Fair Deal" Liberal and Democratic Parties for the radical working class voters of this city. This was demonstrated on a small scale by the decline in the total vote received by the SWP, the SP and SLP from 1945 when the ALP supported O'Dwyer for Mayor instead of running its own candidate, as it did this year.

The main gains of the SWP were recorded prior to the counting of the votes and have already been reported in **The Militant.** They consisted of its principled campaign which brought the SWP program to a large number of New York workers and succeeded in raising the question of civil rights to a prominent place among the election issues. Many friends and supporters were won for Trotskyism through the campaign.